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## In The Nation

### Fulbright Has Attained His First Objective

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, March 30—The response of the press and the public to Senator Fulbright's opening effort to close the "gap between fact and perception" in the foreign policies of the United States has more than satisfied his first objective. This was, as he said to the Senate last Wednesday, to arouse public concern over the prospect that the gap is widening into a "chasm" which will immure the "realities" of foreign policy on the other side.

Then, as the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations accurately described it, this policy will be permanently established as the "fraudulent game of imagery and appearances" into which it has been developing since many leaders of both major parties in the United States shrank from accepting the logic of events in a world undergoing swift and radical changes. Instead, because these events "displeased or frightened us," these leaders sought to make the new facts go away by "clinging to cherished myths."

The record of the postwar years amply sustains Fulbright's comment that, applied inwardly, this professional moralistic approach has generated "much cant . . . and not a little inconsistency." But, together with the "cherished myths," it has also written a record of failure: for example, the effort to induce our allies not to sell their "nonstrategic" surplus commodities to Communist Cuba, while the U. S. is selling a subsistence surplus commodity (wheat) to the U.S.S.R., the creator and preserver of the Castro regime.

However, most of the principal officeholders in the United States are deeply committed to the foundational myths of American foreign policy which Fulbright is seeking to dispel. They fear the loss of power and place if they acknowledge their failures. This is perhaps the best explanation why, though a copy of the speech of the Senator from Arkansas was furnished to all his colleagues in advance, only a few members were in their places when he spoke. Hence the debate which he invited but in the press and among the people.

Yet this was so widespread and so immediate that if Fulbright reverts to his theme the Senate can no longer venture to evade its special responsibility to participate. And the deep roots and resiliency of the foreign policy myths he exposed, plus the distortions of his proposals that were made in some sections of the press, would require that he pursue the subject even were he otherwise inclined. Not to pursue it would obscure the first attainment of his objective—an intensive public and Governmental re-examination of American foreign policy. It was not by one speech, but by a series, and by other pressures on the Republican party, that the late Senator Vandenberg forced a bipartisan approach to realism in foreign affairs to the theme of his Wednesday

In that effort, the Senate Foreign Relations Chairman himself was also a pioneer—on the democratic side. As a young member of the House, he came to national prominence by overcoming heavy odds in winning approval of what became known as the Fulbright Resolution. So the information from his office today that the Senator will return to the theme of his speech last Wednesday was to have been expected.

It is also important to Fulbright's purpose to correct certain published misconceptions of his remarks. For example, a headline "Castro No Danger" was not Fulbright's evaluation, nor was an interpretation that he proposed United States trade with Communist Cuba. What he said was that Castro, though not dangerous to this nation's security, was dangerous to the security of Central and South American states. "But this threat," he said, "can be dealt with by prompt and vigorous use of the established procedures of the inter-American system against any act of aggression."

The Senate is authorized by the Constitution to "advise" the President as one part of its foreign affairs function. The Senate's principal adviser is the Committee on Foreign Relations. Therefore, its Chairman last Wednesday was discharging an official duty in trying to rout myths with facts and common sense. And, in common with Senate Majority Leader Mansfield and Senator Pell of Rhode Island in their comments on the myths which afflict Berlin and Vietnam policy, he also was acting within the specific responsibility imposed on every member of his branch of Congress.

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